

I don't think it is too much to ask. But I do ask it of my colleagues. I plead with them to find somewhere in their hearts the strength to stand up and do what is right for this country, what is right for the little children, and say no to partial-birth abortions.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

SUBMITTING CHANGES TO THE BUDGETARY AGGREGATES AND APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE ALLOCATION

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, section 314 of the Congressional Budget Act, as amended, requires the Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee to adjust the appropriate budgetary aggregates and the allocation for the Appropriations Committee to reflect amounts provided for emergency requirements and arrearages for international organizations, international peacekeeping, and multilateral development banks.

I hereby submit revisions to the 2000 Senate Appropriations Committee allocations, pursuant to section 302 of the Congressional Budget Act, in the following amounts:

(In millions of dollars)

	Budget authority	Outlays	Deficit
Current allocation:			
General purpose discretionary	550,441	557,580	.....
Violent crime reduction fund	4,500	5,554	.....
Highways .....	.....	24,574	.....
Mass transit .....	.....	4,117	.....
Mandatory	321,502	304,297	.....
Total	876,443	896,122	.....
Adjustments:			
General purpose discretionary	+7,063	+4,118	.....
Violent crime reduction fund .....	.....	.....	.....
Highways .....	.....	.....	.....
Mass transit .....	.....	.....	.....
Mandatory .....	.....	.....	.....
Total	+7,063	+4,118	.....
Revised allocation:			
General purpose discretionary	557,504	561,698	.....
Violent crime reduction fund	4,500	5,554	.....
Highways .....	.....	24,574	.....
Mass transit .....	.....	4,117	.....
Mandatory	321,502	304,297	.....
Total	883,506	900,240	.....
I hereby submit revisions to the 2000 budget aggregates, pursuant to section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act in the following amounts:			
Current allocation: Budget resolution	1,445,390	1,428,962	-20,880
Adjustments: Emergencies and arrearages	+7,063	+4,118	-4,118
Revised allocation: Budget resolution	1,452,453	1,433,080	-24,998

EXPLANATION OF VOTE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I was necessarily absent while attending to a family member's medical condition during Senate action on rollcall votes Nos. 328 and 329.

Had I been present for the votes, I would have voted as follows: On rollcall vote No. 328, adoption of the conference report on H.R. 2684, a bill making appropriations for the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and for sundry

independent agencies, boards, commissions, corporations, and offices for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, I would have agreed to the conference report. On rollcall vote No. 329, the motion to table Senate Amendment No. 2299, a Reid perfecting amendment to the campaign finance reform bill, I would have voted not to table the amendment.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, we have now set aside—until the next time!—the McCain-Feingold legislation on campaign finance reform. I did not speak during this most recent debate. The third in three years, and for certain not the last as Senator FEINGOLD made clear last evening on the “NewsHour with Jim Lehrer.” I supported the reform with only a faint sense of familiarity. Here we are, reforming the results of the last reform. A not infrequent task of Congress. But now it might be useful to offer a few related observations.

The first is to state that raising money for political campaigns has never been a great burden for this Senator, and for the simple reason that I hardly do any. One dinner a term, perhaps two. Some receptions. Lots of mail. Not surprisingly the results are not exactly spectacular. In 1994, my last campaign, and which will be my last campaign, the Federal Elections Commission records our having raised \$6,100,147. This is for the State of New York, the third most populous in the nation. But it sufficed. For practical purposes, all the money went to television, with the incomparable Doug Schoen keeping an eye on the numbers lest trouble appear unexpectedly. Our campaign staff never had ten persons, which may sound small to some, but I believe was our largest ever. Even so, we have done well. In 1988, I received some 4,000,000 votes and won by more than 2,000,000 votes, the largest numerical margin of victory in any legislative election in history. I say all this simply to note that just possibly money isn't everything. But if we think it is, it might as well be. And so we must persevere.

This July, in his celebrated Wall Street Journal column, Paul Gigot referred to me as an “old pol” and an “ever loyal Democrat.” I wrote to thank him, for this is pretty close to the truth. If I have spent time in universities it was usually seeking sanctuary after a failed election, my own or others. I go back before polling, and before television. (Although in 1953 I did write a 15-minute television speech for the Democratic candidate for Mayor of New York City, Robert F. Wagner, Jr. It might have been seen by 10,000 people.) But of course polling caught on, as the mathematics got better, and television has never stopped. And these,

of course, are the technologies that seemingly confound us today. But this subject has been with us the longest while.

Congress first placed restrictions on political spending with the Naval Appropriations Bill of 1867 which prohibited Navy officers and Federal employees from soliciting campaign funds from navy yard workers.

Faced with allegations that corporations had bought influence with contributions to his campaign, President Theodore Roosevelt called for campaign finance reform in his 1905 and 1906 State of the Union addresses. In response, Congress passed the Tillman Act of 1907, banning corporate gifts to Federal candidates. And during World War II, the War Labor Disputes Act of 1943, known as the Smith-Connally Act, temporarily prohibited unions from making contributions in Federal elections. In 1947, the Taft-Hartley Act made this wartime measure permanent. As my colleagues well know, these bans have been made virtually irrelevant with the advent of so-called “soft money.”

Requirements for the disclosure of donors originated in the so-called Publicity Act of 1910 which required the treasurer of political committees to reveal the names of all contributors of \$100 or more. Congress expanded the disclosure rules with the 1925 Federal Corrupt Practices Act, requiring political committees to report total contributions and expenditures. The Court upheld this Act in *Burroughs v. United States*, declaring that Congress has the prerogative to “pass appropriate legislation to safeguard (a Presidential) election from the improper use of money to influence the result.” We continue to debate how to exercise that prerogative today.

But may I focus on one particular aspect of campaign funding, which is relatively new? Money for television. Ease this by providing free television time—those are public airways—and as much about the problem goes away as will ever be managed in this vale of toil and sin.

Max Frankel, the long-time and venerable editor of the New York Times and a wise and seasoned observer of American politics, addressed this issue in the October 26, 1997 New York Times Magazine:

The movement to clean up campaign financing is going nowhere for the simple reason that the reformers are aiming at the wrong target. They are laboring to limit the flow of money into politics when they should be looking to limit the candidates' need for money to pay for television time. It is the staggering price of addressing the voters that drives the unseemly money chase.

To run effectively for major office nowadays one needs to spend millions for television commercials that spread your fame, shout your slogans, denounce your opponents, and counteract television attacks. A campaign costing